

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 0649

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJ: HUA KUO-FENG'S REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT --
ECONOMIC

1. SUMMARY. THE GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT DELIVERED BY
HUA KUO-FENG AT THE 5TH NPC PRESENTS A REALISTIC ORDER
OF ECONOMIC PRIORITIES FOR THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS. MOST
HF THE SPECIFIC TARGETS WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN
TAKEN FROM THE 1975 PLAN ARE NOW OVERLY AMBITIOUS, HOWEVER,

2. THE STATE WILL RAISE BUDGETARY INVESTMENT IN
AGRICULTURE, "APPROPRIATELY" RAISE AGRICULTURAL
PURCHASE PRICES TO ENCOURAGE PRODUCTION AND TRY TO
INCREASE SUPPLY OF NON-STAPLE FOOD FOR URBAN RESIDENTS. TARGETS
OF AN AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE OF 4-5 PERCENT IN
GVAO AND 1985 GRAIN PRODUCTION OF 400 MILLION TONS ARE
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SET. AT THE SAME TIME, THE STATE PLANS TO BUILD OR
COMPLETE 120 LARGE-SCALE PROJECTS, INCLUDING 10 IRON
AND STEEL COMPLEXTS AND 10 OIL AND GAS FIELDS, AND GVIO
IS TARGETED TO INCREASE BY OVER 10 PERCENT A YEAR.

3. HUA'S REPORT INDICATES THAT SOMETHING APPROACHING
A STATUS QUO ANTE (I.E., BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION)

IS TO BE RESTORED IN WAGE PAYMENTS AND ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT. NOT ONLY BONUSES, BUT ALSO PIECE RATES, WILL BE APPLIED IN STATE INDUSTRIES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE WILL VIRTUALLY DISAPPEAR FROM INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

4. UNDERUTILIZED CAPACITY IN EXISTING PLANTS WILL BE THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE NEXT EIGHT, AND PARTICULARLY THE NEXT THREE, YEARS. COMMENT: THE CRUX OF THE HUA GOVERNMENT'S SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS AN ATTEMPT TO TAP THIS POTENTIAL BY RAISING LABOR PRODUCTIVITY AND MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY THROUGH BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE INCENTIVES TO LABOR AND MANAGEMENT.

5. WE DOUBT THAT EITHER THE 1985 GRAIN TARGET OR THE GVIO TARGET IS NOW ATTAINABLE. NEVERTHELESS, HAVING SETTLED ON SENSIBLE PRIORITIES AND ABANDONED THE WORST ECONOMIC FEATURES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE HUA GOVERNMENT SHOULD MAKE GREAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS. END SUMMARY.

6. OVERVIEW. HUA KUO-FENG'S GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT AT THE 5TH NPC IS BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT PUBLIC ECONOMIC DOCUMENT TO HAVE BEEN ISSUED BY THE POST-MAO GOVERNMENT ON CHINESE ECONOMIC PLANS AND PRIORITIES THROUGH 1985. THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS OF THE
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REVISED TEN YEAR ECONOMIC PROGRAM (1976-1985) ARE CRITICAL TO THE PRC'S GOAL OF TAKING ITS PLACE "IN THE FRONT RANKS OF THE WORLD" IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE BY THE END OF THE CENTURY. FIRST AMONG THE ECONOMIC PRIORITIES DURING THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS IS AGRICULTURE, AND THIS SECTOR APPEARS TO BE GIVEN GREATER EMPHASIS THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME SINCE THE PERIOD JUST AFTER THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD. HEAVY INDUSTRY AND THE WEAKEST LINKS IN THE ECONOMY ARE TO BE STRENGTHENED BY THE BUILDING OR COMPLETION OF 12 LARGE PRIORITY PROJECTS, BUT "THE FOUNDATION FOR THE GROWTH IN PRODUCTION", PARTICULARLY IN THE NEXT THREE YEARS, IS TO BE EXISTING ENTERPRISES WHOSE UNDERUTILIZED CAPACITY IS TO BE TAPPED. IN CONTRAST TO THE REPORT DELIVERED BY CHOU EN-LAI TO THE 4TH NPC IN JANUARY 1975, HUA'S REPORT LOOKS BACKWARD PRIMARILY TO ASSESS THE DAMAGE OF THE GANG OF FOUR RATHER THAN TO BOAST ACHIEVEMENTS, AND WE GET NO NEW OUTPUT FIGURES OR PERCENTAGE INCREASE FIGURES FOR RECENT YEARS.

7. AGRICULTURE. THE FOLLOWING TARGETS OF THE
TEN-YEAR

ECONOMIC PROGRAM ARE TO BE ACHIEVED BY 1985; PRODUCTION OF 400 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN A YEAR, THROUGH AN ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT (GVAO) OF 4-5 PERCENT; MECHANIZATION OF 85 PERCENT OF ALL MAJOR PROCESSES OF FARM WORK; AND ONE MU OF "HIGH AND STABLE YIELD FARMLAND" FOR EACH RURAL INHABITANT. WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF THE LAST, THE TARGET DATE FOR WHICH HAS BEEN DEFERRED FIVE YEARS SINCE LAST YEAR'S CONFERENCE

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ON FARMLAND CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION (1977 PEKING 1739), THESE 1975 TARGETS NOW APPEAR UNREALISTIC. THE TARGET FOR GRAIN REQUIRES AN AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN 1978-85 OF OVER 4 PERCENT, FOR EXAMPLE, COMPARED WITH A RATE OF ABOUT 3.5 PERCENT ACHIEVED BETWEEN 1949 AND 1974. HUA IMPLIES THAT THIS TARGET IS ATTAINABLE BECAUSE ONE-THIRD OF CHINA'S PROVINCES MET OR EXCEEDED IT IN 1966-1976. THE PROBABILITY THAT RATES OF OVER 4 PERCENT WERE REGISTERED ONLY BY PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT CLIMATIC AND RESOURCE ADVANTAGES IS A STRONG ARGUMENT AGAINST THE LIKELIHOOD THAT CHINA AS A WHOLE WILL BE ABLE TO INCREASE PRODUCTION BY OVER 4 PERCENT A YEAR. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NATION'S LARGEST GRAIN PRODUCER, SICHUAN, WAS ONLY ABLE TO RAISE PRODUCTION ABOUT 2.5 PERCENT ANNUALLY BETWEEN

1965 AND 1975. THE TARGET OF ONE MOU (ONE FIFTEENTH OF A HECTARE) OF HIGH AND STABLE YEILDING LAND FOR EACH RURAL INHABITANT -- 53 MILLION HECTARES IN 1985
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ASSUMING 800 MILLION RURAL INHABITANTS -- WILL REQUIRE THE ADDITION OF SOME TWO MILLION HECTARES EACH YEAR(IN AUGUST 1976 CHINA RECONSTRUCTS GAVE HIGH AND STABLE YIELD AREA AS 34 MILLION HECTARES). THIS IS AN AMBITIONS BUT PROBABLY ATTAINABLE TARGET CONSIDERING THAT ADDITIONS APPEAR TO HAVE AVERAGED ABOUT 1.5 MILLION HECTARES IN RECENT YEARS. SINCE THE QUESTION OF MECHANIZATIONIS LARGELY A DEFINITIIONAL ONE, THE 85 PERCENT FIGURE CAN PROBABLY BE REACHED BY ADJUSTING THE DEFINITION.

8. ALTHOUGH THE MAIN THEME FOR AGRICULTURE REMAINS SELF-RELIANCE, HUA'S REPORT HERALDS AN ENLARGED GOVERNMENT ROLE IN SOME AGRICULTURAL FIELDS AND LESS GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE IN OTHERS. THE STATE WILL INCREASE THE PROPORTION OF ITS BUDGETARY INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE. IT WILL "TAKE CHARGE" OF LARGE-SCALE WATER CONSERVANCY PROJECTS, CONTINUE PROJECTS ON MAJOR RIVERS, "RUN KEY PROJECTS TO RELIEVE DROUGHT IN NORTHWEST, NORTH AND SOUTHWEST CHINA PROPERLY, AND BUILD PROJECTS TO DIVERT WATER FROM THE YANGTZE TO AREAS NORTH OF THE YELLOW RIVER". THE STATE WILL "BUILD A NUMBER OF BASES FOR THE PRODUCTION OF COTTON, EDIBLE OIL, SUGAR AND OTHER CASH CROPS WHERE CONDITIONS ARE SUITABLE, AND TURN THEM INTO THE STATE'S MAIN SOURCES OF SUPPLY FOR THESE PRODUCTS." THE REPORT CALLS FOR THE EXPANSION OF SIDELINE PRODUCTION AND FOR AN INCREASE IN THE PROPORTION LF COMMUNE AN BRIGADE INCOME DERIVED FROM SIDELINE OCCUPATIONS AND ENTERPRISES. A NUMBER OF PREVIOUSLY CONTROVERSIAL RURAL PRACTICES -- HOUSEHOLD SIDELINE PRODUCTION, PRIVATE PLOTS AND VILLAGE FAIRS - ARE CONDONED THOUGH RESTRICTED. THE REPORT STATES THAT APPROPRIATE ADJUSTMENTS IN PRICES WILL BE
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MADE TO ENCOURAGE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

9. POPULATION. THE REPORT CALLS FOR THE NATION TO "STRIVE" TO REDUCE THE NATIONAL POPULATION GROWTH RATE TO LESS THAN ONE PERCENT A YEAR BY 1980. (THIS GOAL IS PROBABLY RETAINED FROM 1975.) WHETHER OR NOT

IT CAN BE ATTAINED, THE PROMINENT PUBLIC NATION GIVEN
IT IS IMPORTANT. CERTAINLY SOME PROGRESS WILL BE
MADE AND THIS WILL FREE MORE FOODSTUFFS FOR RAISING
PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION AND FOR INVESTMENT.

10. HEAVY INDUSTRY. THE REPORT CALLS FOR AN ANNUAL
AVERAGE GROWTH IN GVIO FROM 1978-1985 OF OVER 10
PERCENT AND NOTES THAT "IN THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS, AND
ESPECIALLY IN THE NEXT THREE YEARS, OUR EXISTING
ENTERPRISES MUST BE THE FOUNDATION FOR THE GROWTH OF
PRODUCTION". AT THE SAME TIME, IN THE NEXT EIGHT YEARS
"THE STATE PLANS TO BUILD OR COMPLETE 120 LARGE-SCALE
PROJECTS, INCLUDING 10 IRON AND STEEL COMPLEXES,
NON-FERROUS METAL COMPLEXES, 8 COAL MINES, 10 OIL
AND GAS FIELDS, 30 POWER STATIONS, 6 NEW TRUNK RAILWAYS
AND 5 KEY HARBORS. HUA ALSO CALLS FOR THE PRODUCTION
OF 60 MILLION TONS OF STEEL ANNUALLY BY 1985.

11. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE GVIO TARGET CAN NOW BE
MET. THE GVIO GROWTH TREND HAS BEEN DOWNWARD FOR THE
LAST DECADE, AVERAGING 11.7 PERCENT ANNUALLY DURING
THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN, 9.1 PERCENT DURING THE FOURTH
FIVE YEAR PLAN AND MUCH LESS IN 1976 AND 1977. THIS
REFLECTS BOTH A LARGER BASE AND THE PROBLEM PRESENTED
BY A LAGGING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AS WELL AS POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
MUCH CAPACITY IS
UNDERUTILIZED (FEW FACTORIES IN CHINA SEEM TO OPERATE
AT WESTERN STANDARDS OF CAPACITY) AND MUCH INDUSTRIAL
LABOR IS INEFFICIENTLY EMPLOYED, BUT TAPPING THIS
POTENTIAL WILL BE DIFFICULT. EVEN HARDER TO ACCOMPLISH
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WILL BE THE 1985 TARGET OF 60 MILLION TONS OF STEEL,
ALMOST THREE TIMES PROBABLE 1977 PRODUCTION.

12. WE DOUBT THE PRC, HAVING LOST ALMOST TWO YEARS,
CAN COMPLETE ALL OR EVEN HALF OF THE PROJECTS
BEFORE 1985. THE LIST OF PROJECTS, HOWEVER, FITS THE
CHINESE LIST OF INDUSTRIES REQUIRING RAPID EXPANSION
AND LARGE ADDITIONS TO CAPACITY IN ORDER TO SPEED
LONG-TERM GROWTH. BUILDING OF THE 120 PROJECTS MAY
REQUIRE THE PRESENCE OF THOUSANDS OF FOREIGN TECHNICIANS
IN CHINA (PARTICULARLY AS MANY OF THE PLANTS WILL BE
IMPORTED) AS WELL AS THE TRAINING OF TENS OF THOUSANDS
OF CHINESE TECHNICIANS.

13. MEDIUM AND SMALL SCALE INDUSTRY. THE REPORT CALLS
FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES,
PARTICULARLY THOSE PRODUCING COAL, POWER,

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MINERALS, CEMENT, CHEMICAL FERTILIZER, IRON AND STEEL
AND NON-FERROUS METALS. LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS ARE
REMINDING, HOWEVER, THAT ALL MEDIUM AND SMALL-SCALE
ENTERPRISES SHOULD COME UNDER THE PLAN, USE LOCAL RAW
MATERIALS AND STRIVE TO IMPROVE TECHNIQUES. SMALL
ENTERPRISES THAT COMPETE WITH LARGE ONES FOR MATERIALS
WILL HAVE TO TAKE LEAVINGS.

14. WAGES AND MANAGEMENT. THE REPORT ANNOUNCES CHANGES
WHICH BY AND LARGE RESTORE THE STATUS QUO ANTE (I.E.,
BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION) IN WAGES AND MANAGEMENT.
THE INSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE WILL
VIRTUALLY DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACTORY AND SHOP AND WILL
BE REPLACED BY A FACTORY MANAGER SYSTEM. UNDER THIS
SYSTEM THE FACTORY MANAGER WILL HAVE BOTH MORE POWER
TO MODIFY FACTORY OPERATIONS AND MORE RESPONSIBILITY
FOR DOING SO. THE PRIME REQUIREMENT WILL BE
MEETING ASSIGNED PRODUCTION PLANS -- BOTH QUANTITY
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AND QUALITY -- AND THOSE WHO FAIL IN THIS WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. NEGLIGENCE OR MALFEASANCE IS TO BE STERNLY PUNISHED. AUTHORITY TO DENY PAY TO IDLERS AND TO GRANT BONUSES FOR SUPERIOR PRODUCTIVITY HAS BEEN APPROVED. PIECE RATES HAVE BEEN FORMALLY AUTHORIZED, BUT AS A "SUBSIDIARY" FORM OF REWARD. THESE ARE EVIDENTLY NOT FINAL ANSWERS TO THE WAGE POLICY QUESTION IN THE PRC, AS THE REPORT TASKS THE "RELEVANT DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE STATE COUNCIL, TOGETHER WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES" WITH DRAFTING A PLAN FOR A FULL-FLEDGED REFORM OF THE WAGE SYSTEM.

15. COMMENT. WITH THE GANG OF FOUR MADE TO ORDER AS A SCAPEGOAT, IT IS SURPRISING THAT THE PRC CHOSE TO RETAIN THE GOALS OF THE 1975 TEN YEAR ECONOMIC PROGRAM, WHICH WERE "BOLD AS WELL AS SOUND" TO BEGIN WITH. TENG, WHO HUA SAID WAS CHOSEN BY MAO "TO ASSIST THE PREMIER IN DRAFTING THE (1975) REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT," MAY HAVE FELT COMMITTED TO A PLAN IN WHICH HE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART. WHETHER PATERNITY IS TENG'S OR NOT, HUA, BY INCLUDING THE GOALS IN HIS 1978 REPORT, IS NOW AT LEAST A GODFATHER.

16. ALTHOUGH THE ORIGINAL TEN YEAR ECONOMIC PROGRAM OF 1975 WAS REVISED AND ADJUSTED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE LOSSES IN 1976 AND 1977, IT IS LIKELY THAT MANY OF THE TARGETS SET IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT WERE LEFT UNCHANGED. WITH ONE POOR AND ONE FAIR YEAR ALREADY GONE, THESE APPEAR OVERLY AMBITIOUS NOW. IT APPEARS THAT A SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED EXPENDITURE WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARD RAISING STANDARDS OF LIVING BY PROVIDING MORE FOOD AND OTHER CONSUMER GOODS. THIS WILL MEAN (IN THE ABSENCE OF LARGE PRC BORROWING ABROAD) FEWER
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FUNDS AVILABLE FOR INDUSTRIAL GROWTH.

17. THE FULL-SCALE RETURN TO THE SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT AND REWARDS OF THE EARLY 1960'S WAS A SURPRISE. THIS DECISION, WHICH IS AIMED AT RAISING SUBSTANTIALLY LABOR PRODUCTIVITY AND EFFICIENCY, IS THE HEART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC PROGRAM. A SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THESE AREAS HOLDS THE BEST PROMISE OF CONTINUED HIGH AND STEADY GROWTH; SO THAT WHILE THE SPECIFIC TARGETS MENTIONED ABOVE MAY NOT BE MET, WE THINK PRC GROWTH PROSPECTS ARE STILL PROBABLY THE BEST WE HAVE SEEN IN SEVERAL YEARS.
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